

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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P R 100122Z AUG 73

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9023

INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2837

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR KS KN UN

SUBJ: KOREAN QUESTION IN 28TH UNGA: NEW YORK CONSULTATIONS

REF: A) USUN 2767

B) USUN 2830

TELEGRAPHIC MEMCON SUMMARIZED IN USUN 2830.

FOLLOWS:

1. UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP AMB SCALI, DELS JAPAN, AUSTRALIA, UK AND ROK MET AUG 8 AND 9 TO DISCUSS UPCOMING KOREAN QUESTION DEBATE IN 28TH UNGA. AMB. BENNETT, POLCOUNS, RANARD (EA/K), STULL (UN/P), UNDERHILL (DCM, AMEMB SEOUL) AND MISOFFS WERNER AND ROSENSTOCK PRESENT. ROK FONMIN KIM, WHO RETURNED FROM BRAZIL AT 6:00AM. PARTICIPATED IN AUG 8 DISCUSSIONS. IN ADDITION TO REPS, REPORTED REFTTEL A, UK COUNSELLOR WEIR ALSO ATTENDED MEETING.

2. FOLLOWING INTRODUCTION AND WELCOME BY AMB BENNETT, FONMIN KIM BRIEFED GROUP ON UN IMPLICATIONS OF NEW ROK FOREIGN POLICY AND SUCCESS OF HIS RECENT TRIP TO MEXICO AND BRAZIL. KIN SAID HE ESPECIALLY PLEASED BY MEXICAN PLEDGE OF SUPPORT FOR SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION INITIATIVE. HE SAID ROK WOULD NOT OPPOSE DPRK PARTICIPATION IN UNGA AND WOULD FOLLOW UNGA DECISION ON CONFIDENTIAL

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UNCURK. IN THIS CONNECTION, UNCURK REPORT COMPLETION DELAYED AT KIM REQUEST, UNTIL AUG 20. ON QUESTION OF UNC, KIM NOTED THAT ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS INTEGRALLY CONNECTED TO UNC; IF NO PRIOR ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR THESE AGREEMENTS BEFORE UNC WITHDRAWN,

REAL PROBLEMS WOULD DEVELOP ON PENINSULA. ROK OPPOSED TO UNC DISSOLUTION AND BELIEVES MEMBER STATES ALSO WOULD OPPOSE IF THEY AWARE OF DISTINCTION BETWEEN UNC AND UNCURK AS WELL AS PROBLEM OF ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS. KIM ASSERTED UNGA WOULD SUPPORT SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION RES TIED TO UNIVERSALITY.

3. UK CHARGE JAMIESON WELCOMED EXPLANATION AND ASKED IF KIM MEANT ROK WILLING GIVE UP UNC IN EXCHANGE FOR AGREEMENT ON EFFECTIVE SUBSTITUTE FOR ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS. KIN REPLIED THAT WHILE ROK WISHES RETAIN UN UMBRELLA, IF THIS PROSPECT DOUBTFUL, SOME SUBSTITUTE MUST BE FOUND FOR AGREEMENTS.

4. DISCUSSION OF AGENDA ITEMS THEN FOLLOWED:

A. OPPOSITION ACTIVITIES--AMB BENNETT NOTED THAT WE UNDERSTOOD OPPOSITION AWAITING ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK OF DPRK OBSERVER MISSION AND HAS NOT MET TO DISCUSS STRATEGY. RANARD SAID ON WHOLE INDICATIONS CONCERNING VIEWS OF OTHER SIDE BOTH INCONCLUSIVE AND SOMEWHAT INCONSISTENT. JAMIESON REPORTED PRC VICE FONMIN CH'IAO KUAN-HUA IN RECENT TALK WITH UK AMB IN PEKING LESS RIGID THAN EXPECTED, DID NOT MENTION UNC AND ASKED ALMOST PLEADINGLY IF "WE COULDN'T GET RID OF UNCURK." CH'IAO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT BOTH SIDES MOVED CLOSER ON REUNIFICATION. AUSTRALIAN PERMREP MCINTYRE SAID HE RECENTLY TALKED HERE TO PRC PERMREP HUANG HUA WHOSE MAIN THEME WAS DISSOLUTION UNC. TERMINATION UNCURK INCIDENTAL, HUANG SAID, AND MAIN THING WAS TO GET RID OF BLUE UN HELMETS IN SOUTH KOREA. ON QUESTION ADMISSION TWO KOREAS, HUANG SAID THIS NOT YEAR AND HE DIDN'T THINK SO NEXT YEAR. SOV PERMREP MALIK TOLD MCINTYRE SOVS AWAITING ARRIVAL DPRK IN NEW YORK BUT THAT DPRK WISHES COULD BE ANTICIPATED AND USSR WOULD SUPPORT DPRK POSITION. MALIK SAID HE WOULD LEARN MORE ON THIS SUBJECT DURING HIS AUG HOME LEAVE. JAPANESE PERMREP NAKAGAWA SAID HUANG HUA HAD REPEATED SIMILAR LINE TO HIM. HUANG TOLD NAKAGAWA DPRK STRONGLY OPPOSED ADMISSION TWO KOREAS TO UN AND PRC SUPPORTS THIS POSTION. HUANG CHARGED DUAL ADMISSION IS MANEUVER OF USSR WHICH WANTS TO DIVIDE STATES LIKE GERMANY. CONCERNING UN RESES BRANDING PRC AS AGGRESSOR, CONFIDENTIAL

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HUANG SAID WHEN PRC ADMITTED TO UN IT BELIEVED THESE RESES WERE DECLARED NULL AND VOID. SWADA COMMENTED THAT DPRK ARGUED ADMISSION TO SPECIALIZED AGENCIES DIFFERENT FROM ADMISSION TO UN ON GROUND UN MEMBERSHIP MAKES IT EXPLICIT THAT SEPARATION TWO KOREAS IS PERMANENT.

B. INVITATION TO TWO KOREAS TO PARTICIPATE IN FIRST COMITE DEBATE--GROUP AGREED THAT CONSENSUS STATEMENT INVITING BOTH ROK AND DPRK TO PARTICIPATE WOULD BE PREFERABLE ESPECIALLY SINCE CHAIRMAN OF FIRST COMITE LIKELY BE BORCH OF DENMARK WHO WOULD BE HELPFUL. FONMIN KIM NOTED OPPOSITION MIGHT WISH SUBMIT RES; IN WHICH CASE WE SHOULD SUBMITE RES WITH LANGUAGE ACCEPTABLE TO OUR SIDE. CHAIRMAN COULD THEN NOTE THAT SINCE OBJECTIVE OF BOTH

RESES IDENTICAL, HE WOULD WORK OUT CONSENSUS.

C. UNCURK-MCINTYRE EXPLAINED AUSTRALIAN PLAN TO INCORPORATE RECOMMENDATION DISSOLVE UNCURK IN ANNUAL REPORT. HE CIRCULATED COPY AUSTRALIAN PROPOSED LANGUAGE AND SAID HIS GOVT FLEXIBLE ON TIMING OF REPORT ALTHOUGH IT HOPED TO MOVE FORWARD QUICKLY. ON SUBJECT RES CANBERRA PRESENTLY LEANING TO OMNIBUS RES WHICH WOULD INCLUDE UNCURK AND SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION. FONMIN KIM SAID ROK ASKED FOR DELAY IN SUBMISSION UNCRUK REPORT, HOPING THIS WOULD ALLOW TIME FOR REACTION FROM PEKING. KIM SAID IT POSSIBLE SUBMIT UNCURK REPORT AND HAVE CONCLUSIONS FOLLOW IN SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT TO AVOID GIVING TOO MUCH ADVANCE NOTICE TO OPPOSITION. MCINTYRE SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE UNCURK COULD STILL BE USED AS BARGAINING CARD AND THAT THERE AN ADVANTAGE TO BE GAINED THROUGH SPEEDY SUBMISSION UNCURK REPORT INCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TERMINATION IN ORDER TO MAINTIAN INITIATIVE AND MAKE CLEAR TO ROK FRIENDS THE NEW SEOUL POSITION. JAMIESON SUPPORTED MCINTYRE, ADDING INITIATIVE WOULD BE LOST IF UNCURK REPORT APPEARED WITH RECOMMENDATION FOR TERMINATION AFTER OPPOSITION MOVED. IN THAT CASE UNCURK REPORT WOULD BE VIEWED AS SURRENDER TO OPPOSITION DEMANDS. JAMIESON CAUTIONED WE NOT BE TOO PREOCCUPIED BY CHINESE AND SOV POSITION, ADDING UNCURK NOT A BARGAINING CARD SINCE PRESIDENT PARK'S JUNE 23 STATEMENT INDICATED UNCURK WOULD GO. HE SUGGESTED OUR SIDE CONSIDER HOW WE CAN MAINTAIN INITIATIVE, TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THAT NON-ALIGNED WOULD MEET SOON IN ALGIERS AND WE WANT TO INFORM ROK FRIENDS OF SEOUL POSITION BEFOREHAND. AMB SCALI WONDERED WHETHER THERE REALLY WAS ADVANTAGE IN MOVING AHEAD WHIELE OTHER
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SIDE'S POSITION NOT FIRM RATHER THAN WAITING UNTIL AFTER OTHER SIDE AGREES TO A POSITION. OWADA SAID TOKYO CONCERNED THAT MEMBER STATES MIGHT DRAW PSYCHOLOGICAL TIE BETWEEN UNCURK AND UNC AND THAT SUBMISSION UNCURK REPORT MUST BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED IN CONTEXT OF ATTITUDES TOWARD UNC. JAMIESON AGREED THAT WE MUST AVOID CONNECTION BETWEEN UNC AND UNCURK BUT DEALY OF UNCURK REPORT DOES NOT HELP IF TIME NOT USED TO LINE UP OUR FRIENDS. UK WOULD PREFER TO PRE-EMPT OTHER SIDE AND MAKE SURE OUR FRIENDS ARE LINED UP. STULL NOTED WE SHOULD BE ABLE BY EDUCATIVE EFFORT INSURE UNC AND UNCURK ISSUES DIFFERENTIATED BY MEMBER STATES. KIM SAID AUG 20 ONLY TWO WEEKS AWAY, HE DOES NOT HAVE STRONG VIEW ON TIMING OF SUBMISSION OF REPORT AND THAT IN ANY CASE WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO MOVE BY AUG 20 OR 25 WHEN NETHERLANDS REP RETURNS TO SEOUL. KIM AGREED THAT RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD BE INCORPORATED INTO UNCURK REPORT.

D. UNC--NOTING FONMIM KIM'S STATEMENT ON UNC AMB SCALI SAID IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE PERSUADE OUR FRIENDS UNC ESSENTIAL BECAUSE OF ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS; IF THIS NOT POSSIBLE WE MUST FIND MEANS TO GUARANTEE THESE AGREEMENTS. MCINTYRE SAID HE FELT IF WE TABLED AN OMNIBUS RES IT SHOLD NOT MENTION UNC; IF WE ESTIMATED IT IMPOSSIBLE DEFEAT HOSTILE UNC RES, WE THEN COULD INSERT

REFERENCE IN RES TO NEED TO EXAMINE OTHER PORTIONS UN INVOLVEMENT
IN KOREA FOLLOWING ADMISSION OF ROK AND DPRK TO UN. JAMIESON
AGREED IT BEST NOT MENTION UNC IN OMNIBUS RES BUT MAKE EFFORT
DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN UNC AND UNCURK IN LOBBYING EFFORTS. AMB
SCALI ASKED IF MEMBER STATES WOULD NOT ASK ABOUT UNC AS SOON AS
UNCURK MENTIONED. KIM SUGGESTED THAT IF UNC IN DANGER SC COULD
PASS RES NOTING UNC NO LONGER NECESSARY BUT ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS
MUST BE MAINTAINED; FROM LEGAL POINT OF VIEW WE MUST FIND FORMULA
TO ALLOW AGREEMENTS TO STAND. NAKAGAWA SAID IT IMPORTANT FIND
MECHANISM FOR CONTINUATION AGREEMENTS ALTHOUGH OF COURSE GOJ
BELIEVES UNC SHOULD BE RETAINED IF POSSIBLE.

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P R 100122Z AUG 73

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9024

INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 2837

EXDIS

WE MUST BE AWARE HOWEVER THAT OTHER SIDE
CERTAIN TABLE PACKAGE RES SIMILAR TO
LAST YEAR'S WHICH WE MUST DEFEAT. IF AFTER SOUNDINGS THIS APPEARS
IMPOSSIBLE, WE MUST ADOPT FALLBACK POSITION AND AVOID DEFEAT SUCH
AS WE SUFFERED ON CHIREP ISSUE IN 1971. HE THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT,
HOWEVER, TO DECIDE EARLY SO AS NOT TO APPEAR TO BE REACTING TO
INITIATIVE OF OTHERSIDE. OWADA ADDED THAT TOKYO, BASED ON INFORMAL
CONTACTS, IS NOT 100 PERCENT OPTIMISTIC UNC CAN BE MAINTAINED.
NUMBER OF DELS CONSIDER UNCURK AND UNC TO BE TWO SIDES OF SAME
COIN. THEREFORE WE MUST CONSIDER THAT IMPORTANT ASPECT FOR OUR
SIDE IS ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS AND NOT UNC IN AND OF ITSELF. GROUP
THEN AGREED TO TAKE INFORMAL SOUNDINGS OF BOTH OUR TRADITIONAL
FRIENDS AND NEUTRALS TO DETERMINE SUPPORT FOR UNC. GROUP
AGREED TO MEET AFTER OUR ESTIMATES COMPLETED TO DISCUSS NEXT
STEP. OWADA SAID TOKYO IN PROCESS OF SENDING INSTRUCTIONS
TO ITS EMBASSIES TO TAKE SOUNDINGS AND RESULTS WILL BE REPORTED
TO GROUP. AUSTRALIANS AND UK BOTH SAID THEY WOULD TAKE SOUNDINGS,
AS APPROPRIATE. ROK PERMREP PARK REPORTED ROK GOOD WILL MISSIONS
RAISING KOREAN QUESTION IN NUMEROUS CAPITALS AND RESULTS THESE
SOUNDINGS WOULD BE AVAILABLE SOON. STULL REPORTED USG HAS TAKEN

PRELIMINARY SOUNDINGS ON QUESTION SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION. THESE SOUNDINGS, HE POINTED OUT, ARE NOT NECESSARILY PERTINENT IF SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION RAISED IN DIFFERENT CONTEXT SUCH AS OMNIBUS RES. IN RESPONSE TO SCALI QUESTION, GROUP AGREED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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FIRST REPORT ON SOUNDINGS SHOULD BE READY IN TEN DAYS TO TWO WEEKS.

E. SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION--ALTHOUGH THIS ISSUE RAISED IN AUG 8 MEETING, SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION INITIATIVE DISCUSSED IN GREAT DETAIL AUG 9. PARK REPORTED THAT DURING LAST FOUR WEEKS ROK UN OBSERVER OFFICE APPROACHED 50 UN MISSIONS IN NEW YORK FOR INFORMAL AND INITIAL REACTION TO SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION QUESTION. REACTIONS WERE GENERALLY FAVORABLE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALITY. HOWEVER, CERTAIN COUNTRIES EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS WONDERING WHETHER SC APPROVAL NEEDED. OTHER COUNTRIES SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE BETTER FOR ROK TO ARRANGE AGREEMENT WITH DPRK PRIOR TO SUBMITTING SUCH A RES. ON TECHNICAL SIDE, PARK SAID ROK HAS NO FIXED POSITION AND INTERESTED IN OTHERS VIEWS. HE NOTED THAT ROK AGREES SIMULATNEIOUS ADMISSION RES SHOULD AVOID IMPOSING ACTION ON DPRK AND SHOULD PLACE EMPHASIS ON ADMITTING TO UN WHOEVER ASKES FOR MEMBERSHIP. NAKAGAWA SAID GOJ ENDORSES PROPOSAL TO WELCOME TWO KOREAS TO UN BUT PROBLEM LIES IN PHRASING OF RES. WE SHOULD TAKE CARE THAT DRAFT RES AVOIDS SUGGESTION IT PUSHING DPRK INTO UN SINCE IT HIS OPINION NUMBER OF DELS WOULD ABSTAIN ON SUCH A RES. MCINTYRE SAID GOA ENDORSES REFERENCE TO TWO KOREAS IN EITHER AN OMNIBUS RES OR IN A SEPARATE RES. JAMIESON SAID IT UNLIKELY WE COULD WIN SUPPORT FOR ALL-OUT URGING UN MEMBERSHIP OF TWO KOREAS AND IT MIGHT BE EASIER GAIN SUPPORT FOR MORE OBLIQUE APPROACH SUCH AS NOTING BOTH ROK AND DPRK ARE MEMBERS OF WHO AND IF BOTH DESIRE THEY SHOULD BE ADMITTED TO UN. JAMIESON SAID UK PREFERENCE IS FOR OMNIBUS RES ON ALL ASPECTS OF KOREAN QUESTION EITHER UNDER UNCURK ITEM (#40), OPPOSITION ITEM (#41) OR NEW ITEM. SCALI ASKED FOR GROUP OPINION ON CHANCES OF WINNING A FIGHT OVER SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION IF BOTH PRC AND USSR OPPOSE. MCINTYRE SAID HE ASSUMED BOTH WOULD OPPOSE AND SUCH A BATTLE WOULD BE PRETTY CLOSE, A GREAT DEAL DEPENDING ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE RES. A RES CALLING FOR SC ACTION WOULD HAVE NO CHANCE. IF, HOWEVER, WE TOOK OBLIQUE APPROACH, WE STAND A CHANCE OF WINNING. NAKAGAWA AGREED WITH MCINTYRE ADDING THAT IF DRAFT RES REFERRED TO RESPECT FOR WISHES OF BOTH PARTIES WE HAVE FAIR CHANCE OF WINNING BUT THAT SUCCESS DEPENDED ON HOW RES PHRASED. OWADA ADDED THAT PHRASING EXTENDED TO TITLE OF RES. IF WE REFER TO SIMULTANEIOUS ADMISSION IT APPEARS IF WE ARE TRYING TO FORCE DPRK INTO JOINING UN SAME TIME AS ROK; ON OTHER HAND DUAL ADMISSION BRINGS BACK MEMORIES OF CHIREP DEFEAT. HE SUGGESTED OUR RES SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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TWO KOREAS IN UN IS MERELY TEMPORARY ARRANGEMENT PENDING RE-

UNIFICATION OF KOREA. JAMIESON OPINED THAT IF WE PROPOSED A RES CALLING FOR OUTRIGHT MEMBERSHIP IT WOULD RESULT IN A LARGE NUMBER OF ABSTENTIONS. JAMIESON ADDED THAT WE SHOULD TRY TO FIND WORDING SIMILAR TO MOTHERHOOD WHICH WOULD BE DIFFIICULT TO OPPOSE. OWADA WARNED WE MUST BE CAREFUL NOT FORCE DPRK INTO CORNER; HE NOTED DPRK POSITION ON UN MEMBERSHIP TWO KOREAS INCONSISTENT AND MILD PRESSURE MIGHT CREATE CIRCUMSTANCTS TO FORCE DPRK TO ACCEPT REALITIES OF TWO KOREAS. OBVIOUSLY THE PRC AND USSR MUST ENDORSE DPRK POSITION. OUR JOB IS TO CONVINCE THOSE WHO SUPPORTED DEFERMENT IN THE PAST TWO UNGAS OR THOSE WHO OPPOSED BUT ARE NEUTRAL. MCINTYRE READ GOA DRAFT LANGUAGE CONCERNING SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION WHICH STATED"... CONSIDERS THAT ADMISSION TO UN OF ROK AND DPRK WOULD BE OF LASTING BENEFIT AND WOULD HELP TO PROMOTE PEACE IN KOREA ON WHICH BASIS THE GOAL OF REUNIFICATION COULD BE PURSUED."

SCALI SAID AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE USEFUL STARTING POINT. SCALI ASKED GROUP WHAT ITS VIEW WOULD BE ON A HOSTILE EFFORT TO DISSOLVE UNC. DID GROUP THINK THAT UNGA WOULD FAVOR AUTOMATICALLY DISSOLVING UNC IF THE ARGUEMENT MADE THAT DISSOLUTION UNC WOULD HAVE DESTABILIZING AFFECT ON KOREAN PENINSULA. NAKAGAWA SAID SINCE UNC DISSOLUTION WOULD HAVE NO EFFECT ON US TROOPS, SUCH AN ARGUMENT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO MAKE. MCINTYRE SAID THIS ARGUMENT WOULD NOT GET US VERY FAR. JAMIESON AGREED ADDING THAT A LOBBYING EFFORT BASED ON POSITION THAT UNC DISSOLUTION WOULD LEAD TO DESTABILIZATION OF PENINSULA WOULD CUT ICE ONLY SO FAR AS IMPACT ON ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS SINCE MOST MEMBER STATES REGARD UNC AS FIG LEAF FOR US TROOPS. SCALI THEN ASKED IF WE DID NOT HAVE UNC WHAT IS FALLBACK? NOTING THAT THIS CALLED FOR DETAILED LEGAL CONSIDERATION, JAMIESON SUGGESTED THAT UK LEGAL OFFICERS FEEL THAT SC RES NECESSARY TO PRESERVE AGREEMENTS. HE ADDED THAT AT THIS POINT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO AVOID GETTING INTO THIS ASPECT IN OUR LOBBYING EXERCISE. SCALI AGREED NOTING USG FEELS THAT ARMISTICE AGREEMENT MACHINERY NECESSARY AND MUST BE CONTINUED IF UNC DISSOLVED. OWADA COMMENTED THAT IF VOTING SITUATION SUCH THAT WE CAN'T INSURE THE CONTINUATION OF UNC THEN WE MUST PROVIDE FOR SC ARRANGEMENTS.

F. TIMING--ALL REPS AGREED THAT IT IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN INITIATIVE AND ASSURE PRIORITY FOR ANY RES IF POSSIBLE. MCINTYRE, CONFIDENTIAL

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JOINED BY UK AND JAPAN, NOTED THAT THERE NOT MUCH TIME BEFORE UNGA CONVENES.HE SUGGESTED THERE VALUE IN STAFF MEMBERS MEETING TO PREPARE ALTERNATIVE DRAFTS WHILE AT SAME TIME CONDUCTING SOUNDINGS. SCALI SUGGESTED THAT FIVE PERMREPS MEET ONCE A WEEK, FORMALLY OR INFORMALLY, TO INSURE THAT ACTION CONTINUES, WHILE STAFFS COULD CONTINUE DISUSSION IN GREATER DETAIL ON TACTICS AND DRAFT LANGAUGE. STAFF OFFICERS AGREED MEET AT USUN AUG 14 TO START WORK ON DRAFT LANGUAGE FOR OMNIBUS RES AND ALTERNATIVES. SCALI

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